Negro, Colonization of-1934

Back To Africa Movement Starts With Plan To Send 500 Artisans To Liberia

Age 2-10-34 New York N.Y.

The "Back-to-Africa Movement" appeared to have another tangible beginning Sunday afternoon when Samuel Daniels, head of a new organization known as the African Reconstruction Association, discussed plans for sending 500 skilled workers in the trades, professions and sciences to Liberia.

The meeting was held in the Henry Lincoln Johnson Elks Hall, 272 West 130th street. Daniels collected $1.10, which he declared was the first deposit in the African Homeland fund. He sees the fund growing to one million dollars.

At the meeting a Western Union telegram was read from the Overseas Trading Company, 116 Broad street, stating that a vessel would leave for Africa about April 1; that they could carry not less than 50 workers at one hundred dollars each, as a lesser number would not pay at that figure. Although the vessel does not plan to stop at Liberia, the telegram said that if at least 50 workers are carried at $100 each, they will be landed at the port of Liberia.

When asked if he had the consent of the Liberian Government in his "back to Africa" movement, Daniels said that he negotiated Walter F. Walker, the Liberian Consul here, 98 Park Row, and with Liberian officials through that he had been instructed to organize a body of skilled workers to go to Liberia to assist in building up the country.

Daniels said he contemplates forming an "African Institute of Thcenology" and an "African Geological Survey." Maybelle Berre and S. N. Galloway are secretary and treasurer of the association, respectively.

400,000 Sign Petition for U.S. to Send Them "Back to Africa"

Afro-American 3-10-34 Baltimore

WASHINGTON.—The State Department has received, during recent years, many requests from individuals and groups who ask that they be sent back to Africa.

The prize petition, however, comes from one M. M. L. Gordon, of 4451 S. State Street, Chicago, who recently sent to the State Department in Washington, the signatures of some 400,000 Negroes from all parts of the United States who wish to emigrate to Africa.

Mr. Gordon represents an organization known as "The Peace Movement of Ethiopia." The petitioners express a willingness to go to Africa, in view of the wide-spread unemployment, the economic disorders, and the ill-treatment of the Negroes in the United States. In its petition the organization asks:

1. That Federal funds be used in securing some place in Africa where a Negro state may be set up.
2. That the Federal Government use some of its war ships or any other ships at its command in transporting these Negroes to Africa.
3. That the Federal Government purchase small farm implements for the use of these Negroes.

Government Refuses

Of course, the government refused the requests of the petitioners, and for some such reasons as these:

1. The American Government does not own any land in Africa.
2. The government does not have the money to purchase any land.
3. If money were available, it is safe to believe that no European power would sell any part of its African possessions.

The aims and objects of this "Peace Movement of Ethiopia," it is pointed out, should recommend it to those persons and organizations working for the salvation and preservation of Liberia.

400,000 ASK F.D. TO SHIP THEM FROM COUNTRY

Afro-American 3-10-34 Baltimore

Mid - Western Group Would Emigrate to Liberia and Ethiopia.

SAYS AMERICA IS IMPOSSIBLE

Africa Would Welcome Entire Group.

[Special to the AFRO]

CHICAGO.—Terming themselves "simple-minded, sincere, lowly law-abiding workers," 400,000 members of the Peace Movement of Liberia, with headquarters at 4451 S. State Street, have signed their names to a petition addressed to President Roosevelt, asking that the government pay the expenses of transporting them to Liberia or Ethiopia, for settlement.

The organization, with M. M. L. Gordon as executive president, has as its aim, "to return people of African descent to their motherland, Africa."

The signers of the petition state that they hold themselves in "readiness to be eliminated from an impossibly competitive labor market here, by transporting them in government transports to Liberia or Ethiopia."

Would Be Welcome

Mr. Gordon states, "We have assurance that the governments of both these countries would welcome mass emigration of American colored folk trained in the simpler form of our agriculture."

Making the first presentation of the signed petition to the President in November, the peace movement officials have been discouraged in their hopes that the government will seriously consider such a propsoal.

Warped press releases have made it appear that the group wishes this country to set up an independent state in Africa for emigrating folk, states Mr. Gordon, adding that this is not at all the idea of the movement.

Want to Be Citizens

His 400,000 members, he states, merely wish to become citizens of the two countries mentioned, to live under their existing laws as any other citizens.

Three reasons were given against the petition: that the United States does not own any land in Africa; that the government has not the money to purchase any land; and, that no European power would sell any part of its African possessions.

Cites Sustaining Facts

To these reasons, Mr. Gordon replies, in sequence, that his petition has never so stated and is not so concerned; that, January 29, Harry L. Hopkins revealed that the government plans to spend an initial $25,000,000 in subsistence homesteads on unarable lands, and that the Ethiopia-Liberia plan would require only a fraction of that amount; and, that the petitioners desire to settle only on African soil owned by Africans.

"An exodus of the poorest people," states Mr. Gordon, "would benefit both races, improve labor conditions for those remaining, and promote the long deferred economical recovery." A meeting of the movement will be held here March 11.

49th State—Lincoln Islands

Afro-American 3-10-34 Baltimore

A national movement has been launched in Chicago for the establishment of a forty-ninth state where colored people in the United States can have an opportunity to work out their own destiny, "unhampered by artificial barriers."

The organization seeks the aid of the government to acquire by purchase the necessary territory, adequate in size, moderate in climate, and fertile as to soil.

The new area, it says, would be carved out of existing states and would remain a territory until through its own development it qualified for statehood.

There is no intention of compelling anyone to go to the proposed new state. Only those who would desire to go would be desired there.

Agitation of the question causes the inquiry whether or not we haven't already such a territory where a small start might be made, namely, the Virgin Islands.

Back in 1917, Victor Daniel proposed the changing of the name to Lincoln Islands. Before that, Booker T. Washington approved the location of a Tuskegee colony there, to be settled by graduates of Tuskegee and by others who could help raise the standard of living there.

The Virgin Islands, though containing only 139 square miles, has 92 per cent of its population colored persons speaking English.

It lends itself to the development of an initial project out of which larger territory in the United States might be exploited for a forty-ninth state.

UTICA, N. Y. OBSERVER DISPATCH

MAR 9 1934

AN ALL-NEGRO STATE

Rochester Democrat and Chronicle

An old proposal, often discussed in theory and vaguely approved by many parlor orators, is revived by a group of Negroes in Chicago. This is the proposal to set aside a fixed area for Negro citizens of the country, to be developed by them in their own way with the object of ultimately being admitted to the Union as a separate state. Congress would select the land, the government would pay for it and the Negro residents would have full power to practice any industry and profession, subject to the laws of the country.

A prospectus issued by the sponsors says that the principal requirements of the land selected are "that it be adequate in size, hospitable in climate and fertile as to soil, sufficient to produce most of the basic necessaries of life for its inhabitants." As soon as the area was selected, the promoters would "ascertain, as far as possible, the Negroes who would go to the new state, their property holdings and their ability to work in the new community. Wherever the survey indicated deficiencies in certain fields of necessary activity in the new state, we would set out immediately to educate and train personnel sufficient to overcome the deficiencies and form a balanced economic and administrative unit."

The difficulties in the way of putting any such proposal into effect are so prodigious that it is not likely to be taken very seriously even by Negroes. And it is a question whether segregation of a large number of Negroes in a separate colony might not aggrevate race prejudices; certainly it would be setting up definite barriers between Negroes and whites, which might lead to new frictions instead of removing the old. If the idea could be tried, it would be an interesting experiment.

New Movement Opens Headquarters In Chicago; Would Establish A 49th State Solely For Negroes

CHICAGO, Ill.—The establishment in the United States of a 49th state, to be composed entirely of Negroes, is the aim of a new organization recently incorporated here. The national council of the movement through Oscar E. Brown, president, and J. E. Mitchem, secretary, has issued the first bulletin of the movement setting forth, in a general wav. the basic plan.

Says the bulletin:

"In the United States of America the Negro has been scorned as a social leper, denied reasonable protection under the law, prohibited from earning a decent living for himself, trampled upon because of his economic and numerical weakness, and mistreated in a thousand other ways. He has had many true friends who have aided him during the years since the abolition of slavery, but such valued friends are definitely on the decrease, leaving the Negro standing almost alone in the midst of an unsympathetic or hostile crowd of ten times his number. It now appears absolutely certain that the Negro, himself, is his only source of salvation. The momentous question is, how can he save himself?

"Most of the Negro population in the United States are found on farms and are dependent upon a landlord or someone else for an existence. Here, improved machinery and improved methods of intensive cultivation of land have so increased agricultural production that there now is no market for much that has been and is being produced. The marginal farmer—the farmer who has been able to make a bare existence—now drops below the margin of existence and will be eliminated. Most of the Negro farmers are found in this lowest or sub-marginal class.

"In industry, improved machinery has so displaced men until now there are not enough jobs to go around. This displacement, in normal times, cut most heavily into the ranks of and eliminated the Negro worker. Thus, in industry as in farming, the Negro, who in normal times was the marginal worker, now becomes the sub-marginal worker, without an opportunity to earn an existence or to keep body and soul together.

"Faced with this grim outlook what can be done to forestall impending disaster? Whatever may be the difference of opinion among Negroes as to what ought to be done, all seem to be in definite agreement that something must be done, and done quickly.

Propose All-Negro State

"We propose, therefore, the ultimate establishment of a new state in the United States wherein colored people in the United States can have an opportunity to work out their own destiny, unbridled and unhampered by artificial barriers; wherein they can have a chance to raise the lot of their masses from exploitation, misery, wretchedness and insecurity; wherein they can become respected, industrious, thrifty citizens, self-governing, self-reliant and self-sustaining, always to be counted upon as unfalteringly loyal to their country and a credit to all that is noblest and best in it. Thus, we plan that the Negro secure an actual, physical, geographic area for the establishment of a state like any other commonwealth in the United States."

That the new state can be legally created, although it involves problems and ramifications that will require the utmost of intelligence and diplomacy, patience and determination, is not doubted by the council which quotes Article 4, Section 3, of the Constitution of the United States as follows:

"New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state shall be formed by the junction of two or more states, without the consent of the Legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of Congress."

To Seek Federal Aid

Aid of the Federal Government will be sought in the acquisition of the territory, which must be adequate in size, moderate in climate and fertile as to soil.

As to the location of the proposed new state, the prospectus says:

"The location of the area in which the state should be established need not be ascertained or pointed out at this time. The principal requirements are that it be adequate in size, hospitable in climate, and fertile as to soil, sufficient to produce most of the basic necessaries of life for its inhabitants. The new area could be carved out or cut from one or more existing states. It is proposed that the area be secured by the Federal Government upon the specific condition that the state or states selling the territory would approve of the future establishment of the new state. The area would then become a Territory of the United States and remain a territory during the period of preparation and organization for the establishment of the new independent commonwealth of the United States.

"As soon as the area is acquired by the Federal Government, we would ascertain, as far as possible, the Negroes who would go to the new state, their property holdings and their ability to work in the new community. Wherever the survey indicated deficiencies in certain fields of necessary activity in the new state we would set out immediately to educate and train personnel sufficient to overcome the deficiencies and form a balanced economic and administrative unit.

"If necessary, under the supervision of the Federal Government the new area could pass into control of the new citizens of the state step by step until the entire functioning of the commonwealth would be under the dominant control of the Citizens thereof. The economic organization of the new state will be definately planned in the direction of making the state, within its own borders, as nearly self-sustaining, with the necessaries of life, as it would be possible to do."

Lest their aims and objects be misconstrued, the proponents of the movement state that they favor for all citizens of the Unitd States equal opportunity, equal enjoyment of and equal protection in all phases of the life of the Nation. Because of the economic trend of the times however, the sponsors say that it is necessary for them to resort to technical un-American principles.

No one would be compelled to go to the New State, say the proponents of the movement who believe that several million people would go thereby relieving much of the economic stress throughout the

country due to the vast oversupply
of workers who can find no work

Orlando, Fla., Sentinel
March 12, 1934

Just a Dream

SOME ONE IN Chicago gave birth to a dream which would create a negro state, where eventually all the negroes in this country would be transferred. It would be a commonwealth governed entirely by negroes, where, permitted to live their own way, the race would have an opportunity to work out its own problems.

The idea is nothing more than a dream, and will get nowhere. It is doubtful if the organization will number more than a few fanatics on the question. There is little doubt but that at least 90 per cent of the negro population would object to the project, and the number of white population who would agree to force them to accept it, is so small, the movement would prove a failure before it got started.

The negro needs the white man to keep him from degenerating into a shiftless unaccountable human. There are thousands of ambitious negroes, but the number is not sufficient that they could keep the race in the U. S. bolstered up to where it would be self supporting. To make them wards of the government, would be even worse.

The south needs the negro almost as much as the negro needs the white man. It is here he is happiest. The out door life suits him more than the congested centers of the north, and it is doubtful if this section of the country would want to part with their labor. Such a project would cost hundreds of millions, and who would pay the bill? It would be impossible to get 11,000,000 people to leave their present homes and trek to another section of the country to reside.

The scheme is the wildest of dreams.

NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y.
GAZETTE

MAR 17 1934

A FORTY-NINTH STATE

The proposal of a group of leading Chicago Negroes that a new state be created for a Negro population is interesting largely because of the source of the suggestion. At one time a similar plan was rejected because of a feeling that it would impose upon the Negro an unbearable economic hardship. It was rated by many as an inhumane expression of racial antagonism and was opposed by public-spirited citizens, including Negro leaders, who felt that the race's best opportunities were in economic association with the white population. The proposal as now made by the leaders, acting as the national movement for the establishment of a forty-ninth state, is as follows:

We propose the ultimate establishment of a new state in the United States wherein coored people in the United States can have an opportunity to work out their own destiny, unbridled and unhampered by artificial barriers; wherein they can have a chance to raise the lot of their masses from exploitation, misery, wretchedness and insecurity; wherein they can become respected, industrious, thrifty citizens self-governing, self-reliant and self-sustaining, always to be counted upon as unfalteringly loyal to their country and a credit to all that is noblest and best in it. Thus, we plan that the Negro secure an actual physicial geographic area for the establishment of a state like any other commonwealth in the United States.

The principal arguments are that many Negro farmers are now in distress, that more are likely to be reduced to privation by elimination of marginal lands, and that in clearing the unproductive lands, the federal government can take the marginal land in large areas from two or more states and out of this create the new Negro state. The leaders believe that migration to the new state should be voluntary, and that many Negroes own sufficient land or other property now to enable them to finance the move. The argument is that if racial barriers are removed, all will have the same chance and the opportunity for raising all to a higher level of living will be improved. Progress of the movement will be measured in the ability of the committee to command Negro support. If Negro opinion approve it, the country will consider it.

Negro, Colonization of - 1934

A 49th State Not the Remedy

The Richmond Planet, while accepting as a fact the gloomy picture of the condition of the Colored American depicted by the prospectus of the National Council sponsoring the establishment of a 49th State, it does not believe that the council offers a solution of the problem. The establishment of a separate state for Colored Americans is contrary to the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States, and is in essence a tacit endorsement and acceptance of segregation and Jim Crowism.

What Colored Americans must do is to continue the struggle against all discrimination on account of color until the 48 States in the Union are forced to recognize and observe the principles enunciated in these documents that "all men are created equal that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

The Richmond Planet contends for the absolute equality vouchsafed by the Constitution of the United States and is resolved to join [illegible] and fight it out, right here in Virginia. The movement for the establishment of [illegible] state is a compromise with [illegible]. This newspaper recommends that the leaders of the movement for this compromise read the speech of Patrick Henry delivered in St. John's Church in this city. A careful perusal of this immortal speech will burst this bubble and Colored Americans in each of the 48 existing states will say to their oppressors: "Give us liberty or give us death."

ORLANDO, FLA.
SENTINEL

MAR 12 1934

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BALLSTON SPA, N. Y.
JOURNAL

MAR 12 1934

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A prospectus issued by the sponsors says that the principal requirements of the land selected are "that it be adequate in size, hospitable in climate and fertile as to soil, sufficient to produce most of the basic necessaries of life for its inhabitants." As soon as the area was selected, the promoters would "ascertain, as far as possible, the Negroes who would go to the new state, their property holdings and their ability to work in the new community. Wherever the survey indicated deficiencies in certain fields of necessary activity in the new state, we would set out immediately to educate and train personnel sufficient to overcome the deficiencies and form a balanced economic and administrative unit."

The difficulties in the way of putting any such proposal into effect are so prodigious that it is not likely to be taken very seriously, even by Negroes. And it is a question whether segregation of a large number of Negroes in a separate colony might not aggravate race prejudices; certainly it would be setting up definite barriers between Negroes and whites, which might lead to new frictions instead of removing the old. If the idea could be tried, it would be an interesting experiment. Beyond doubt, the educated American Negro is qualified for self government.—Knickerbocker Press.

Favor a 49th State For Negroes Only

A solution for the problems raised by congested black belts in northern cities and the poverty of Negro farmers on marginal farm lands in the South is offered by spokesmen for Chicago colored people. They would add an all Negro State to our present forty-eight, in which the colored race could work out its destiny "unhampered by artificial barriers." They propose "an actual, physical, geographic area for the establishment of a State like any other commonwealth in the United States." 3-31-34

The argument, according to the St. Joseph *News Press*, is that the Federal Government in clearing non-productive lands, can take distressed Negro farmers, and put them in large areas of contiguous marginal lands from two or more States and there create the new Negro State. Migration would be voluntary.

Constitutional obstacles at once occur. And even if these were surmounted how could non-Negroes be kept out? The idea recalls the African Colonization plans that were offered a century ago to solve the slavery problem. Perhaps the only way to segregate the colored population effectively would be to set up reservations where the Negroes would be wards of the nation, like the Indians. But this is hardly the vision of the Chicago race leaders.

International Federation of African Women
All Families Interested in going to Africa for COLONIZATION Contact us!
MEETINGS: EVERY FRIDAY EVENING
[illegible]30 p.m. to 11:00 p.m.
[illegible]16 West 135th Street
New York City [illegible] York
Write in for all information.
MRS. A. SQUIRES

6-23-34

ST. JOSEPH, MO.
NEWS-PRESS

MAR 17 1934

A NEGRO STATE.

Negro leaders in Chicago have started a movement for the forty-ninth state in order to give the Negro population advantages not now attainable. "We propose," say the Chicago leaders, "the ultimate establishment of a new state in the United States wherein colored people in the United States can have an opportunity to work out their own destiny, unbridled and unhampered by artificial barriers; wherein they can have a chance to raise the lot of their masses from exploitation, misery, wretchedness and insecurity, wherein they can become respected, industrious thrifty citizens, self-governing, self-reliant and self-sustaining, always to be counted upon as unfalteringly loyal to their country and a credit to all that is noblest and best in it. Thus, we plan that the Negro secure an actual physical, geographic area for the establishment of a state like any other commonwealth in the United States."

The principal arguments are that many Negro farmers are now in distress, that more are likely to be reduced to privation by elimination of marginal lands, and that in clearing the non-productive lands, the federal government can take the marginal land in large areas from two or more states, and out of this create the new Negro state. The leaders believe that migration should be voluntary, and that many Negroes own sufficient land or other property now to enable them to finance the move. The argument is that if racial barriers are removed, all will have the same chance and the opportunity for raising all to a higher level of living will be improved.

This is interesting and one may readily sympathize with the aspiration therein conveyed. As to the practicality of the scheme, there is room for argument. At one time a similar plan was rejected because of a feeling that it would impose upon the Negro an unbearable economic hardship. It was rated by many as an inhumane expression of racial antagonism and was opposed by public-spirited citizens, including Negro leaders, who felt that the race's best opportunities were in economic association with the white population. How far the present start will get will depend upon the reception it derives from the rank and file of the Negroes.

REVIEW
Berne, Ind

MAR 19 1934

A 49TH STATE

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—Indianapolis News.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
NEWS

MAR 15 1934

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ROCHESTER, N. Y.
DEMOCRAT & CHRONICLE

MAR 11 1934

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Congress would select the land, the government would pay for it and the Negro residents would have full power to practice any industry and profession, subject to the laws of the country.

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If the idea could be tried, it would be an interesting experiment. Beyond doubt, the educated American Negro is qualified for self government.

PHILADELPHIA, PA
BULLETIN

MAR 23 1934

LIBERIAN COLONIZATION

The African Reconstruction Association, which announces plans to obtain $2,000,000 to send groups of American Negroes to colonization areas in Liberia, is undertaking a real job. Liberia, even if that republic were interested in the new Harlem scheme, would require a better and bigger appeal than it has yet presented to attract American Negroes in large numbers, or even **the 1,500 the Harlem organization wishes to settle in Liberia after a survey there to determine possibilities.**

In Liberia there are about 1,500,000 indigenous inhabitants of various tribes and a mere scattering of other persons, among whom a few may be African repatriates. Although the United States has been generous in aid to Liberia and has salvaged the republic from serious difficulties, there are few Liberian inhabitants who could be classed as former Americans. The population of the capital and chief port, Monrovia, with its environs is only about 10,000. American Negroes who have adopted urban life would consider Monrovia a small town and Negroes in American agricultural areas are kindred of their native soil and would need more glorious pictures of Liberia than yet painted to choose Africa in its stead.

Among the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States there may be a few adventurous persons, of the spirit of the early American colonists, who, if financed by some organization, might elect to try their luck in Liberia. There are real opportunities there, but lands have been cleared, cultivated, and abandoned to the jungle and the United States is more in Negro favor even if it is not a perfect Eden.

Negro, Colonization of - 1934

ALBANY, N. Y.
KNICKERBOCKER PRESS

MAR 9 1934

AN ALL-NEGRO STATE

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A prospectus issued by the sponsors says that the principal requirements of the land selected are "that it be adequate in size, hospitable in climate and fertile as to soil, sufficient to produce most of the basic necessaries of life for its inhabitants." As soon as the area was selected, the promoters would "ascertain, as far as possible, the Negroes who would go to the new state, their property holdings and their ability to work in the new community. Wherever the survey indicated deficiencies in certain fields of necessary activity in the new state, we would set out immediately to educate and train personnel sufficient to overcome the deficiencies and form a balanced economic and administrative unit."

The difficulties in the way of putting any such proposal into effect are so prodigious that it is not likely to be taken very seriously, even by Negroes. And it is a question whether segregation of a large number of Negroes in a separate colony might not aggravate race prejudices; certainly it would be setting up definite barriers between Negroes and whites, which might lead to new frictions instead of removing the old. If the idea could be tried, it would be an interesting experiment. Beyond doubt, the educated American Negro is qualified for self government.

What the People Say

[The Chicago Defender does not vouch for the authenticity or truthfulness of letters printed in this column, nor do letters contained herein express opinions or views of the Defender. All letters must be signed with name and address of writer. Confine them to 300 words.]

Defender 7-30-34

"SOLD" ON ALASKA

Cleveland, Ohio, June 15—I take this medium to express my appreciation for the masterly speech delivered at the social workers' conference at Kansas City, Mo., by Mr. Forrester B. Washington.

Mr. Washington, a U. S. Government employee, knows the facts and has given them to the public. But what puzzles me about his wonderful compilation of words, is his lack of understanding just how to get our people out of this seeming whirlpool of industrial stagnation.

He presents his case fine, he depicts our dilemma vividly and masterfully, he even attempts to have the national government compel organized labor to take in the Negro. A thing no administration has ever tried to do or will ever do, because the American Federation of Labor does not want the Negro in competition with white labor as a mass.

No political party will meddle in the internal workings of labor unions. It would be political suicide so to do.

Negroes have depended on white men too long to give them a living. We have watched a Jew with a pack on his back picking rags and old iron, seen him progress to a push cart. Then to a horse and wagon, then to a scrap and second-hand yard, buying every conceivable thing that had value, then suddenly you have met him as your landlord. At first you laughed at him, then you got used to him and finally you rented from him and called him Mister Zangfield. While the native American Negro stood still and squandered his wealth, and remained in squalor and poverty.

You saw the Russian Jew build a factory in your midst and give a Negro a job. The Negro was the janitor.

You have watched a panorama go gliding by while we stood in a daze and saw cheap lands slip, to be gobbled up by far-sighted foreigners. We were left standing still, and later found ourselves grumbling, and saying we have had no chance because the great God made us black.

When Negroes could have bought farms in the South for from $2 to $10 an acre, he would not take the land. White men in the South tried to sell him farms at any price and on the Negro's own terms. I know personally, forty years ago that white men tried to sell Negroes farms where I lived for as little as $10 down and $100 a year until the debt was paid, but very few Negroes would assume the responsibility of running a farm.

But it is too late to worry over spilt milk. It is heart rending to see able-bodied Negroes standing in line begging for food. But it is our responsibility to work out a plan that will take our people out of the helpless class of dependents and make them producers. It is our duty to have Negroes taught how to manufacture everything that Negroes wear, grow everything that Negroes eat, and supply everything we can sell to other races of people in the United States and in other countries. If we could once get some of the brainy Negroes to co-operate on a plan to build permanently.

A Negro state in Alaska where the Negro will be sixteen hundred miles away from the old states, where the Negro can learn to stand on his own feet, where necessity will compel him to do for himself, where he will during the winter months weave threads into valuable laces, where our sons from college will stay in their laboratories in the cold winter and produce formulas that will startle the scientific world, where his mind will expand and make him a real business man, then we will not only be able to hold the business of our own group, but compete equally with all other business men.

Alaska is the solution for all the difficult problems now confronting Mr. Washington in his worthy efforts to get the American Negro out of the terrible industrial hole where we now find him.

Alaska, with its wealth, its vast territory, with its 4500 miles of seaboard, its gold mines, its valuable forests of virgin timber, its coal, tin, zinc, its valuable herds of seals, its wonderful fishing grounds, its unlimited political opportunities, all waiting the American Negro who will work to make Alaska a state ruled by the American Negro. Alaska offers the only permanent solution to the American Negro's economic and labor problems.

Young Negroes like Langston A. Hughes and Mr. Washington, could help the struggling Negro by using their pen everywhere to get the Negro headed for Alaska. We older men will have to leave the stage in a few years and the Negro will fall heavily into their hands, but with them pulling for the Negro to go to Alaska, the load will lift itself off, for Alaska will put new hope into the American Negro, and be a guiding star for all the Negroes that live in the old states.

—Dr. Joe T. Thomas.

Kelly Miller Says...

Journal and Guide 7-28-34 Norfolk, Va.

"The Forty-Ninth State"

The PILGRIM spirit surges in the soul of every self-conscious group, from the days of Abraham, the Father of the Faithful, to the time of Joseph Smith, the inspirator of the Latter Day Saints. Such groups are ever urged on by the whispering of the inner voice. "Get thee out from among them unto a land which I will show you."

Oppressed peoples always seek a promised land, the quest of which has contributed chiefly to the progress of civilization. In seeking to escape from the ills of his present lot, the simple souled Negro folk, being deficient in the energy and enterprise to plan and plant a new country, longed for a far away homeland in the sky.

But ever and anon some daring, restless spirit has sought to lead his people to a country where they would be arbiter of their own fortune, free from the oppressive weight of the white overlordship which hangs like a pall over his spirit.

The sundry vague and vain attempts of the back to Africa movement show plainly that the people who are responsive to such appeal seek a country where there is nothing above their racial aspirations except the blue sky. Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. DuBois were alike obsessed by this ideal.

The impossible African Empire of Garvey and the Pan African Congress of DuBois pointed in the same direction and to the same goal. The same ideal lies dominant in the breast of every Negro who has a thinking mind and who dares to dream.

Complete self-expression is the dominant urge of every self-respecting and energetic racial group. Self-determination was not merely the idle mechanation of the mind of Wodrow Wilson but awakens a dominant chord in the mind of the heavily laden and overborne racial groups the world over. This spirit is plainly evinced on part of the Negro whenever any marked measure of success attends any distinctive Negro enterprise.

Whenever a handful of adventuresome Negroes attempt to develop a town or even a village, the whole race swells with pride over the achievement. The whole race only a few years ago was delighted to make a litte journey to Tuskegee, because one Negro had shown what was possible Negro genius by way of developing its own vine and fig treet. Mound Bayou and Boley, Okla. aroused the highest hopes and expectations of all whose eyes longed to see a Negro city.

A monument might be built to McCable who forty years ago had a dream of making Oklahoma a Negro state. Even such small enterprises as successful watering resort swells the heart with pride. Idle Wild, Michigan, and Highland Beach, Md., have become the summer capitals of Negro social aspirations and pretensions. All these things show how earnestly we all long for political, economic and social structure built upon our own foundation.

Liberia and Haiti, in their day of better promise, quickened the hopes and imagination of every Negro in the world. Today Abyssinia is the focus of the race's political hope.

Sensing the impossibility of the unlikelihood of being able to secure equality of opportunity and privilege under the Nordic regime, the Negro prays and hopes for a land somewhere he may express his racial soul to his heart's content.

It is this blind, half conscious feeling that lies back of this purpose to establish the Forty Ninth State. While I am not impressed with the feasibility of the movement in its present form, I am tremendously impressed with the genuineness and sincerity of the young men in whose minds such a far reaching idea finds lodgement.

Like the African Empire of Marcus Garvey and the Pan African Congress of Dr. DuBois, it may fail for want of practical and adequate means and competent leadership, but the underlying idea will live on and on until some way, some time, it will find the long hoped for fulfilment. It might not be in the form of a Forty Ninth State or of a city built with hands. It may take the form of a more spiritual and cultural imperium in imperio.

Differenttiation rather than integration may prove the key-note to the solution of the race problem. It may not be by spatial separation but by specialty of racial contributions to the equation of civilization and culture. that the

races may look for and find their destined end or ways.

In the mean time all honor to the little group of Chicago valiants who dare feel that they can blaze the way for the establishment of a Negro state just as the Latter Day Saints built up a religious commonwealth in the heart of the Rocky Mountains two generations ago.

The Negro race, like all Other races, is divided into the hesitant and the timid, and the heroic and the adventurous spirits. The prudent and the overcautious will raise the cry of the lion of segregation which stands in the way.

But it is a safe wager that should the adventure be attempted and should meet with any likely degree of success, the whole race would welcome the enterprise as a God-sent boon to its flagging spirit.

The Jew is still hoping for a Jewish State which shall fulfil the racial aspiration of the chosen seed of Abraham. If the idea of self-sufficing community will continue to haunt Negro thought, in the fullness of time, there will doubtless raise up a leadership with the requisite energy, enterprise, initiative, and race enthusiasm to establish and maintain a Negro community, whether political or spiritual and cultural, that shall challenge the imagination of the Negro.

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

SEP 9 1934

Colored State For Alaska? —Law Steps In

Cleveland, Sept. 8 (U.P.).—Dr. Joseph T. Thomas believes that colored people should thrive in the Alaskan wastes and plans to take a million of his colored brethren there.

Dr. Thomas is the self-appointed president of the Alaskan colonization branch of the United Congo Improvement Association, Inc.

His idea is to establish a colored colony, comprising 400,000 farms of 160 acres each. They would be parcelled out to loyal followers under Federal jurisdiction.

The Federal Government is just a little dubious about Dr. Thomas' idea. Recalling other colored colonization efforts, notably that of "King" Marcus Garvey, of Africa, United States Attorney Emerich B. Freed has started an inquiry into the scheme.

Map in Front Yard.

Dr. Thomas has a large painted map of what purports to be Alaska. It graces the front yard of his home. Beside it is a pile of circulars setting forth the aims of the Congo Improvement Association, thus:

"To prevent Japanese invasion of the United States by colonizing a million American Negroes in Alaska; to set up a state under Federal jurisdiction where the Negro can enjoy political freedom and be a Democrat or Republican, whichever he likes."

The doctor still has quite a way to go before he arrives at his hoped-for total of a million members. He has 300 on the rolls now, each having paid a dollar initiation fee and 25 cents a month dues.

Postal Authorities Interested.

And that's where the Federal Government comes in. Freed wants to know if the association is legitimately organized from the standpoint of postal regulations. He doesn't want Dr. Thomas collecting a lot of money in fees and dues via the mails.

The doctor, who is 60 and describes himself as "just a common, ordinary physician and surgeon," claims he had placed his colonization scheme before the War Department.

TRIBUNE

Scottsbluff, Neb.

SEP 6 1934

Governmental Interference

Another case of governmental interference is worrying a man who wants to carry out what he considers an important project. Dr. Joseph Thomas, Cleveland Negro, has an idea that Negroes should thrive up in the Alaskan wastes. He's going to take a million brethren there. That is, if the government doesn't interfere.

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Negro, Colonization of - 1934

AFRICAN COLONIZATION SCHEME IS BEING AGITATED BY NEGROES

Previous Abortive Efforts Toward Same End Recalled by Monroe Work

By EUGENE ANDERSON

Telegraph
Macon Ga.
4-8-34

The Telegraph has received a communication from Chicago relative to a petition sent to Washington last fall, signed by 400,000 Negroes. They wanted to be colonized in Liberia or Ethiopia, and asked Uncle Sam to buy the necessary land and to furnish necessary transportation. They believed, according to the petition, that arable lands would be furnished free or at a very nominal price by either or both of the countries, and they thought a "benevolent government" would negotiate the matter.

Thus comes before the public again a question involving the weal or woe of a vast number of people. The feeling has always existed that the Negro might not be as happy in Ethiopia as he supposes; that he might not find the welcome there that he expects; that he might not be able to adapt himself to that style of life—in other words, that he might be more anxious to get back to the United States than he was to get away.

The Telegraph is asked to espouse the cause, the natural inference being that the friend of the Negro would want to see him colonized in Ethiopia or Liberia.

The following information on the subject will be iilluminating for both white people and Negroes.

Petitioners Complain

As a basis for the petition at this time is the statement that 400,000 signers are citizens of the Middle West; and they are largely potential objects of emergency relief.

The communication coming to The Telegraph is a wail in its tone. The writer or writers appear to feel that a "square deal" was not accorded in Washington. "An assistant secretary took it on himself to shunt the hopes and longings of this multitude on the greased rails of the Department of State," say the petitioners. They did not get to the president. They were put into the hands of the acting chief of the Division of Western European affairs. Then, complaint is made about the version given to the Washington press bureau. It was not intended for publication, but since the press found it, the petitioners want a fair statement made. They say they do not want a state set up, as was claimed.

Informal Invocation

"They propose to avail themselves of the invitation informally extended them by travelers and correspondents of two of the African native governments, and to serve those states by becoming dutiful citizens under their existing laws. If a nominal entry fee is required for any of the land that is what the federal government is asked to advance out of the billions being spent for the amelioration of distress in our economic life.' The government answered: "The American government does not own any land in Africa. Then the petitioners retort: "Surely no child past the sixth grade believes it does."

The government said again: "The government does not have the money to purchase any land." Then the petitioners answer: "On Jan. 29, Harry L. Hopkins, federal relief director, revealed to newspaper representatives at Washington the federal plan to spend an initial 25 million dollars in buying land to segregate the poor (presumably Negroes) in the arid west, and in the sandy wastes of the cut-over lands of the North.

Petitioners Feel Hopeless

Realizing the hopelessness of the million that are to be selected with their offspring, under such conditions, they are to be subsidized and regulated for five years. And after that, what? The plan submitted by the petitioners would require only a fraction of the available millions and would afford little opportunity for easy pickings and permanent domination, and would not require an army of supervisors and regulators. But perhaps this is why Prof Rexford Guy Tugwell's plan was substituted for the plan of the 400 thousand petitioners."

The government made another point, and the petitioners answer "If the money were available, it is safe to believe that no European power would sell any part of its African possessions." "Certainly not," say the petitioners. "But the petitioners have no desire to locate in any country dominated by Europeans, whether in Africa or America.

Oppressed and Sorrowing

"Twelve generations of oppression and sorrow leave no hope through a continuance of racial animosity. There are two independent native African states, Liberial and Ethiopia. Both look on the Afro-American as a peer, and look with favor on his desire to establish himself where his knowledge of American farming and artisanship would serve as an object of emulation.

"Ever since this movement commenced," the communication says than a hundred years, have been proposed by whites and Negroes. The most ambitious of these schemes was the setting up, in 1820, of the Republic of Liberia as a place for the colonization of free Negroes from America.

"Public interest has recently been revived in the 'Back to Africa Movement' by a petition from Chicago of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, said to be backed by 400,000 purported signatures, that the United States government furnish money to send Negroes back to Africa. In the above connection a brief review of the results of 'Back to Africa Movement' during the past twenty years is of interest:

British Give Warning

"In 1913 and 1914 'Chief' Sam, claiming to have formerly lived on the Gold Coast of Africa, promoted a scheme for the settling of American Negroes in that part of Africa. He stated that he owned 69 square miles of fertile land on the Gold Coast and that he would transport his followers there. The British government, hearing of the matter, issued a statement that 'Chief' Sam owned no land on the Gold Coast and advised American Negroes not to come as settlers to that colony.

"In 1919, D. R. Thomas of Bonita, Arizona, signing himself as secretary-treasurer of the Black oMvement to Africa, wrote a letter to Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee institute, taking him to task for going around preaching good will between the races instead of urging Negroes to return to Africa.

"In 1920, Rev. J. E. Lewis of Los Angeles, Cal., promoted a colonization scheme to transport Negro missionaries to Africa. He went so far as to build a boat for this purpose, which sank while being launched.

Much Money Raised

"The Universal Negro Improvement association or the 'Garvey Movement' as it was more popularly known, initiated at the end of the World war, received the widest publicity of any of the 'Back to Africa Movements.' The central thought of the Garvey movement was 'Africa for the Africans,' that is, the establishing in Africa of a nation of black pepole . Through the organization of the Black Star Line Steamship company and other businesses enterprises of the association great sums of money were raised among Negroes in the United States, the West Indies, and to a lesser extent in South America and Africa. Colonial governments in Africa took cognizance of the Garvey movement.

'The Negro National Society of America, organized in Detroit about 1931, had for its purpose the establishing in Liberia and territories adjacent thereto, a new Negro republic. This society does not appear to have gotten beyond the organization stage.

Wanted American Control

"About 1932 there was established in Pasadena, Cal., a movement to colonize American Negroes in an American governed African state. The organization was known as the American Negro African Movement. The proposal was to have the United States government accept African lands instead of cash in payment of war debts and to establish on these lands an African state for American Negroes. This proposal appears not to have gotten beyond the 'whereas' and 'resolved' stage.

"Why have all the Back to Africa Movements failed? The most probable reasons are:

"1. That in essence 'Back to Africa the gatherings of the petitioners have been invaded and besieged by soviet apostles of disorder and disruption. Their blandishments have failed only because the petitioners had faith in the justice and practical benevolence of the present administration. Now, that these have failed us that unruly element will gain an ascendancy among our adherents, the effect of which will be far-reaching and serious."

The Telegraph is asked to take up the appeal, and to show that an exodus of the poorest Negroes would benefit both races, improve labor conditions for those remaining, and promote the long deferred economical recovery. The writer to The Telegraph is Mrs. M. M. L. Gordon, president of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia.

Other Back-to-Africa Plans

Knowing that previous efforts to help the Negroes get back to Africa had been unsuccessful, The Telegraph wrote to Tuskeegee Institute for all available data on the subject. We wanted to know why other plans failed, our purpose being to help the Negroes determine what circumstances favored the present plan over other plans. The following reply comes from Monroe N. Work, editor Negro Year Book:

"Three plans have been proposed, from time to time, as solutions of the American race problem: (1) The colonization of Negroes in Africa or in some other place outside of the United States; (2) segregation—that is, setting aside of a territory within the United States into which all the Negroes would be assembled; (3) amalgamation or absorptions of the Negroes, through the years, into the general population of the country.

"Colonization schemes, for more Movements' are deportation schemes, voluntary or involuntary.

"2. Colonization schemes, whether by whites or by Negroes, have never received general support either from the masses of Negroes or their more responsible leaders. Another factor which has militated against popularizing colonization schemes is that in no instance can a successful example be cited of the colonization outside of the United States of American Negroes as individuals or as groups.

"3. That in Africa there is no economic development going on demanding the migration of black people from America or elsewhere. In other words, the labor demands of Africa are being supplied by the people already there."

MIAMI, FLA.
HERALD

MAR 7 1934

WILL NOT WORK

OUT of Chicago comes a proposition with reference to the betterment of the negro population of the United States.

Long ago it was thought that the race question, in this country, could be solved by finding some place to which the colored population could be moved and where the people of color could work out their own destiny unhampered by the presence of the white race.

An organization in Chicago proposes that the government of the United States shall purchase an eligible tract of land, location not stated nor states mentioned from which the section would be excised, where a political territory should be erected with a view of ultimately creating a state of the union exclusively for the residence of negroes.

At first glance there would seem to be some difficulties in the way of a consummation of the proposed movement. There are, according to the census of 1930, some 11,891,000 colored people in the United States. If they could be assembled in one state that would make a fair commonwealth, so far as numbers are concerned.

But, naturally, the question arises how is the society to induce 11,000,000 or more people

to leave their present homes and go to a new place in which to start anew? And, who is going to pay the bill? To purchase sufficient land to accommodate all the colored people of the United States in one state, would cost quite a bit of money and to erect the necessary public and private buildings to accommodate them would cost more.

It is not probable that any appreciable number of colored people could be induced to leave their homes. They are attached to the places where they live. They have their present means of making a livelihood, which they might not have in the promised land. They have their churches and schools and social organizations which could hardly be transferred to a far off state.

Besides all this, and more, the chances are that those states that depend upon negro labor would object, strenuously, to the labor revolution that would ensue if their present source of obtaining workers were cut off.

As a matter of fact, the scheme will not work.

SOUTH BEND, IND
TRIBUNE

MAR 19 1934

Another State Proposed.

[Indianapolis News.]

The proposal of a group of leading Chicago Negroes that a new state be created for a Negro population is interesting largely because of the source of the suggestion. At one time a similar plan was rejected because of a feeling that it would impose upon the Negro an unbearable economic hardship. It was rated by many as an inhumane expression of racial antagonism and was opposed by public-spirited citizens, including Negro leaders, who felt that the race's best opportunities were in economic association with the white population. The proposal as now made by the leaders acting as the national movement for the establishment of a 49th state, is as follows:

"We propose the ultimate establishment of a new state in the United States wherein colored people in the United States can have an opportunity to work out their own destiny, unbridled and unhampered by artificial barriers, wherein they can have a chance to raise the lot of their masses from exploitation, misery, wretchedness and insecurity; wherein they can become respected, industrious, thrifty citizens, self-governing, self-reliant and self-sustaining, always to be counted upon as unfalteringly loyal to their country and a credit to all that is noblest and best in it. Thus, we plan that the Negro secure an actual physical, geographic area for the establishment of a state like any other commonwealth in the United States."

The principal arguments are that many Negro farmers are now in distress, that more are likely to be reduced to privation by elimination of marginal lands, and that in clearing the uproductive lands, the federal government can take the marginal land in large areas from two or more states, and out of this create the new Negro state. The leaders believe that migration to the new state should be voluntary, and that many Negroes own sufficient land or other property now to enable them to finance the move. The argument is that if racial barriers are removed, all will have the same chance and the opportunity for raising all to a higher level of living will be improved. Progress of the movement will be measured in the ability of the committee to command Negro support. If Negro opinion approves it, the country will consider it.

THE SEGREGATED 49TH STATE

That a wild thought, in fact a discordant hallucination, could make anyone see or profess to see a solution of the economic, social and political problems of our group by the government establishing a separate and distinct state for us alone, is beyond sane and intelligent comprehension. New states have their origin in some great compelling force. They are neither born nor motivated by greed for money nor lust for power. They have their incentive in higher and more enduring forces.

Defender

The establishment of a new state requires an organization deeply rooted and dominated by the lofty spirit of the movement. Such an exalted aim must be carried on and out by men who understand the present and are capable of connecting their thoughts and sympathies with the possibilities of the future. Should the government undertake so foolish a project, by what method would it compel its existence? Are we to understand that force is to be used to populate the new state? By what method is the existence of the present value of property rights now extant in the 48 states to be computed as to value by the black people who are to be transferred to the new mythical 49th state?

4-7-34

The origin of a state does not come through some speculative theory nor in some formal scheme. The entrance to it is not through a reflected process nor by an act of individual volition. In the establishment of a new state there must be serious thought given to its continuity. It is not a thing of momentary existence; it is not composed of its present occupants alone, but embraces those who are have been and shall be. It goes from the fathers to the sons, and its relation is manifested in its reverence for the one and its hope for the other.

Chicago, Ill.

A state can only be founded on the impregnable consciousness of the people themselves. How are we to separate ourselves from the priceless value of our labor, service to the nation, our own progress and advancement in the arts and sceinces? In fact, how are we to receive proper and fit return for our 250 years of unrequited toil to the 48 states, and by what process is this to be transferred to the 49th state? Or is that to all intents and purposes to be a nullity?

Or are we to abandon, surrender, give up all rights, grants, privileges and patterns in an established institution which is to us now a fact in order to pursue a phantom? Are we to permit political jack o'lanterns to lead us into a laybrinth of disorganized efforts? Who are the stellar attractions in the ferment of this undertaking attempting to impose this hideous nightmare upon the better conscience of our people? Do they recall the African colonization plans that were offered over a century ago and guaranteed to solve this same question? It was a similar self-segregating program. It failed, and so will this. A free people are not likely to re-enslave themselves.

ITHACA, N. Y.
JOURNAL NEWS

MAR 20 1934

An All Negro State

An old proposal, often discussed in theory and vaguely approved by many parlor orators, is revived by a group of Negroes in Chicago. This is the proposal to set aside a fixed area for Negro citizens of the country, to be developed by them in their own way with the object of ultimately being admitted to the union as a separate state. Congress would select the land, the government would pay for it and the Negro residents would have full power to practice any industry and profession, subject to the lawns of the country.

A prospectus issued by the sponsors says that the principal requirements of the land selected are "that it be adequate in size, hospitable in climate and fertile as to soil, sufficient to produce most of the basic necessaries of life for its inhabitants." As soon as the area was selected, the promoters would "ascertain, as far as possible, the Negroes who would go to the new state, their property holdings and their ability to work in the new community. Wherever the survey indicated deficiencies in certain fields of necessary activity in the new state, we would set out immediately to educate and train personnel sufficient to overcome the deficiencies and form a balanced economic and administrative unit."

The difficulties in the way of putting any such proposal into effect are so prodigious that it is not likely to be taken very seriously, even by Negroes. And it is a question whether segregation of a large number of Negroes in a separate colony might not aggravate race prejudices; certainly it would be setting up definite barriers between Negroes and whites, which might lead to new frictions instead of removing the old. If the idea could be tried, it would be an interesting experiment. Beyond doubt, the educated American Negro is qualified for self-government.

ELMIRA, N. Y.
STAR GAZETTE

MAR 18 1934

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[Indianapolis News.]

The proposal of a group of leading Chicago Negroes that a new state be created for a Negro population is interesting largely because of the source of the suggestion. At one time a similar plan was rejected because of a feeling that it would impose upon the Negro an unbearable economic hardship. It was rated by many as an inhumane expression of racial antagonism and was opposed by public-spirited citizens including Negro leaders, who felt that the race's best opportunities were in economic association with the white population. The proposal as now made by the leaders acting as the national movement for the establishment of a 49th state, is as follows:

"We propose the ultimate establishment of a new state in the United States wherein colored people in the United States can have an opportunity to work out their own destiny, unbridled and unhampered by artificial barriers, wherein they can have a chance to raise the lot of their masses from exploitation, misery, wretchedness and insecurity; wherein they can become respected, industrious, thrifty citizens, self-governing, self-reliant and self-sustaining, always to be counted upon as unfalteringly loyal to their country and a credit to all that is noblest and best in it. Thus, we plan that the Negro secure an actual physical, geographic area for the establishment of a state like any other commonwealth in the United States."

The principal arguments are that many Negro farmers are now in distress, that more are likely to be reduced to privation by elimination of marginal lands, and that in clearing the unproductive lands, the federal government can take the marginal land in large areas from two or more states, and out of this create the new Negro state. The leaders believe that migration to the new state should be voluntary, and that many Negroes own sufficient land or other property now to enable them to finance the move. The argument is that if racial barriers are removed, all will have the same chance and the opportunity for raising all to a higher level of living will be improved. Progress of the movement will be measured in the ability of the committee to command Negro support. If Negro opinion approves it, the country will consider it.

to leave their present homes and go to a new place in which to start anew? And, who is going to pay the bill? To purchase sufficient land to accommodate all the colored people of the United States in one state, would cost quite a bit of money and to erect the necessary public and private buildings to accommodate them would cost more.

It is not probable that any appreciable number of colored people could be induced to leave their homes. They are attached to the places where they live. They have their present means of making a livelihood, which they might not have in the promised land. They have their churches and schools and social organizations which could hardly be transferred to a far off state.

Besides all this, and more, the chances are that those states that depend upon negro labor would object, strenuously, to the labor revolution that would ensue if their present source of obtaining workers were cut off.

As a matter of fact, the scheme will not work.

SOUTH BEND, IND
TRIBUNE

MAR 19 1934

THE SEGREGATED 49TH STATE

That a wild thought, in fact a discordant hallucination, could make anyone see or profess to see a solution of the economic, social and political problems of our group by the government establishing a separate and distinct state for us alone, is beyond sane and intelligent comprehension. New states have their origin in some great compelling force. They are neither born nor motivated by greed for money nor lust for power. They have their incentive in higher and more enduring forces.

Defender

The establishment of a new state requires an organization deeply rooted and dominated by the lofty spirit of the movement. Such an exalted aim must be carried on and out by men who understand the present and are capable of connecting their thoughts and sympathies with the possibilities of the future. Should the government undertake so foolish a project, by what method would it compel its existence? Are we to understand that force is to be used to populate the new state? By what method is the existence of the present value of property rights now extant in the 48 states to be computed as to value by the black people who are to be transferred to the new mythical 49th state?

4-7-34

The origin of a state does not come through some speculative theory nor in some formal scheme. The entrance to it is not through a reflected process nor by an act of individual volition. In the establishment of a new state there must be serious thought given to its continuity. It is not a thing of momentary existence; it is not composed of its present occupants alone, but embraces those who are, have been and shall be. It goes from the fathers to the sons, and its relation is manifested in its reverence for the one and its hope for the other.

Chicago, Ill.

A state can only be founded on the impregnable consciousness of the people themselves. How are we to separate ourselves from the priceless value of our labor, service to the nation, our own progress and advancement in the arts and sceinces? In fact, how are we to receive proper and fit return for our 250 years of unrequited toil to the 48 states, and by what process is this to be transferred to the 49th state? Or is that to all intents and purposes to be a nullity?

Or are we to abandon, surrender, give up all rights, grants, privileges and patterns in an established institution which is to us now a fact in order to pursue a phantom? Are we to permit political jack o'lanterns to lead us into a laybrinth of disorganized efforts? Who are the stellar attractions in the ferment of this undertaking attempting to impose this hideous nightmare upon the better conscience of our people? Do they recall the African colonization plans that were offered over a century ago and guaranteed to solve this same question? It was a similar self-segregating program. It failed, and so will this. A free people are not likely to re-enslave themselves.

ITHACA, N. Y.
JOURNAL NEWS

MAR 20 1934

An All Negro State

An old proposal, often discussed in theory and vaguely approved by many parlor orators, is revived by a group of Negroes in Chicago. This is the proposal to set aside a fixed area for Negro citizens of the country, to be developed by them in their own way with the object of ultimately being admitted to the union as a separate state. Congress would select the land, the government would pay for it and the Negro residents would have full power to practice any industry and profession, subject to the lawns of the country.

ELMIRA, N. Y.
STAR GAZETTE

MAR 18 1934

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A prospectus issued by the sponsors says that the principal requirements of the land selected are "that it be adequate in size, hospitable in climate and fertile as to soil, sufficient to produce most of the basic necessaries of life for its inhabitants."

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state, their property holdings and their ability to work in the new community. Wherever the survey indicated deficiencies in certain fields of necessary activity in the new state, we would set out immediately to educate and train personnel sufficient to overcome the deficiencies and form a balanced economic and administrative unit."

The difficulties in the way of putting any such proposal into effect are so prodigious that it is not likely to be taken very seriously, even by Negroes. And it is a question whether segregation of a large number of Negroes in a separate colony might not aggravate race prejudices; certainly it would be setting up definite barriers between Negroes and whites, which might lead to new frictions instead of removing the old. If the idea could be tried, it would be an interesting experiment. Beyond doubt, the educated American Negro is qualified for self-government.

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Negro, Colonization of - 1934

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
April 8, 1934

AFRICAN COLONIZATION SCHEME IS BEING AGITATED BY NEGROES

Previous Abortive Efforts Toward Same End Recalled by Monroe Work

By EUGENE ANDERSON

The Telegraph has received a communication from Chicago relative to a petition sent to Washington last fall, signed by 400,000 Negroes. They wanted to be colonized in Liberia or Ethiopia, and asked Uncle Sam to buy the necessary land and to furnish necessary transportation. They believed, according to the petition, that arable lands would be furnished free or at a very nominal price by either or both of the countries, and they thought a "benevolent government" would negotiate the matter.

Thus comes before the public again a question involving the weal or woe of a vast number of people. The feeling has always existed that the Negro might not be as happy in Ethiopia as he supposes; that he might not find the welcome there that he expects; that he might not be able to adapt himself to that style of life—in other words, that he might be more anxious to get back to the United States than he was to get away.

The Telegraph is asked to espouse the cause, the natural inference being that the friend of the Negro would want to see him colonized in Ethiopia or Liberia.

The following information on the subject will be iilluminating for both white people and Negroes.

Petitioners Complain

As a basis for the petition at this time is the statement that 400,000 signers are citizens of the Middle West, and they are largely potential objects of emergency relief.

The communication coming to The Telegraph is a wail in its tone. The writer or writers appear to feel that a "square deal" was not accorded in Washington. "An assistant secretary took it on himself to shunt the hopes and longings of this multitude on the greased rails of the Department of State," say the petitioners. They did not get to the president. They were put into the hands of the acting chief of the Division of Western European affairs. Then, complaint is made about the version given to the Washington press bureau. It was not intended for publication, but since the press found it, the petitioners want a fair statement made. They say they do not want a state set up, as was claimed.

Informal Invocation

"They propose to avail themselves of the invitation informally extended them by travelers and correspondents of two of the African native governments, and to serve those states by becoming dutiful citizens under their existing laws. If a nominal entry fee is required for any of the land that is what the federal government is asked to advance out of the billions being spent for the amelioration of distress in our economic life.' The government answered: "The American government does not own any land in Africa. Then the petitioners retort: "Surely no child past the sixth grade believes it does."

The government said again: "The government does not have the money to purchase any land." Then the petitioners answer: "On Jan. 29, Harry L. Hopkins, federal relief director, revealed to newspaper representatives at Washington the federal plan to spend an initial 25 million dollars in buying land to segregate the poor (presumably Negroes) in the arid west, and in the sandy wastes of the cut-over lands of the North.

Petitioners Feel Hopeless

Realizing the hopelessness of the million that are to be selected with their offspring, under such conditions, they are to be subsidized and regulated for five years. And after that, what? The plan submitted by the petitioners would require only a fraction of the available millions, and would afford little opportunity for easy pickings and permanent domination, and would not require an army of supervisors and regulators. But perhaps this is why Prof. Rexford Guy Tugwell's plan was substituted for the plan of the 400 thousand petitioners."

The government made another point, and the petitioners answer: "If the money were available, it is safe to believe that no European power would sell any part of its African possessions." "Certainly not," say the petitioners. "But the petitioners have no desire to locate in any country dominated by Europeans, whether in Africa or America.

Oppressed and Sorrowing

"Twelve generations of oppression and sorrow leave no hope through a continuance of racial animosity. There are two independent native African states, Liberial and Ethiopia. Both look on the Afro-American as a peer, and look with favor on his desire to establish himself where his knowledge of American farming and artisanship would serve as an object of emulation.

"Ever since this movement commenced," the communication says, than a hundred years, have been proposed by whites and Negroes. The most ambitious of these schemes was the setting up, in 1820, of the Republic of Liberia as a place for the colonization of free Negroes from America.

"Public interest has recently been revived in the 'Back to Africa Movement' by a petition from Chicago of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, said to be backed by 400,000 purported signatures, that the United States government furnish money to send Negroes back to Africa. In the above connection a brief review of the results of 'Back to Africa Movement' during the past twenty years is of interest:

British Give Warning

"In 1913 and 1914 'Chief' Sam, claiming to have formerly lived on the Gold Coast of Africa, promoted a scheme for the settling of American Negroes in that part of Africa. He stated that he owned 69 square miles of fertile land on the Gold Coast and that he would transport his followers there. The British government, hearing of the matter, issued a statement that 'Chief' Sam owned no land on the Gold Coast and advised American Negroes not to come as settlers to that colony.

"In 1919, D. R. Thomas of Bonita, Arizona, signing himself as secretary-treasurer of the Black oMvement to Africa, wrote a letter to Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee institute, taking him to task for going around preaching good will between the races instead of urging Negroes to return to Africa.

"In 1920, Rev. J. E. Lewis of Los Angeles, Cal., promoted a colonization scheme to transport Negro missionaries to Africa. He went so far as to build a boat for this purpose, which sank while being launched.

Much Money Raised

"The Universal Negro Improvement association or the 'Garvey Movement' as it was more popularly known, initiated at the end of the World war, received the widest publicity of any of the 'Back to Africa Movements.' The central thought of the Garvey movement was 'Africa for the Africans,' that is, the establishing in Africa of a nation of black pepole. Through the organization of the Black Star Line Steamship company and other businees enterprises of the association great sums of money were raised among Negroes in the United States, the West Indies, and to a lesser extent in South America and Africa. Colonial governments in Africa took cognizance of the Garvey movement.

'The Negro National Society of America, organized in Detroit about 1931, had for its purpose the establishing in Liberia and territories adjacent thereto, a new Negro republic. This society does not appear to have gotten beyond the organization stage.

Wanted American Control

"About 1932 there was established in Pasadena, Cal., a movement to colonize American Negroes in an American governed African state. The organization was known as the American Negro African Movement. The proposal was to have the United States government accept African land instead of cash in payment of war debts and to establish on these lands an African state for American Negroes. This proposal appears not to have gotten beyond the 'whereas' and 'resolved' stage.

"Why have all the Back to Africa Movements failed? The most probable reasons are:

"1. That in essence 'Back to Africa "the gatherings of the petitioners have been invaded and besieged by soviet apostles of disorder and disruption. Their blandishments have failed only because the petitioners had faith in the justice and practical benevolence of the present administration. Now, that these have failed us that unruly element will gain an ascendancy among our adherents, the effect of which will be far-reaching and serious."

The Telegraph is asked to take up the appeal, and to show that an exodus of the poorest Negroes would benefit both races, improve labor conditions for those remaining, and promote the long deferred economical recovery. The writer to The Telegraph is Mrs. M. M. L. Gordon, president of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia.

Other Back-to-Africa Plans

Knowing that previous efforts to help the Negroes get back to Africa had been unsuccessful, The Telegraph wrote to Tuskeegee Institute for all available data on the subject. We wanted to know why other plans failed, our purpose being to help the Negroes determine what circumstances favored the present plan over other plans. The following reply comes from Monroe N. Work, editor Negro Year Book:

"Three plans have been proposed, from time to time, as solutions of the American race problem: (1) The colonization of Negroes in Africa or in some other place outside of the United States; (2) segregation—that is, setting aside of a territory within the United States into which all the Negroes would be assembled; (3) amalgamation or absorptions of the Negroes, through the years, into the general population of the country.

"Colonization schemes, for more Movements' are deportation schemes, voluntary or involuntary.

"2. Colonization schemes, whether by whites or by Negroes, have never received general support either from the masses of Negroes or their more responsible leaders. Another factor which has militated against popularizing colonization schemes is that in no instance can a successful example be cited of the colonization outside of the United States of American Negroes as individuals or as groups.

"3. That in Africa there is no economic development going on demanding the migration of black people from America or elsewhere. In other words, the labor demands of Africa are being supplied by the people already there."

Literary Digest - N.Y.

MAR 31 1934

Favor a 49th State For Negroes Only

A solution for the problems raised by congested black belts in northern cities and the poverty of Negro farmers on marginal farm lands in the South is offered by spokesmen for Chicago colored people. They would add an all Negro State to our present forty-eight, in which the colored race could work out its destiny "unhampered by artificial barriers." They propose "an actual, physical, geographic area for the establishment of a State like any other commonwealth in the United States."

The argument, according to the St. Joseph *News Press*, is that the Federal Government in clearing non-productive lands, can take distressed Negro farmers, and put them in large areas of contiguous marginal lands from two or more States and there create the new Negro State. Migration would be voluntary.

Constitutional obstacles at once occur. And even if these were surmounted how could non-Negroes be kept out? The idea recalls the African Colonization plans that were offered a century ago to solve the slavery problem. Perhaps the only way to segregate the colored population effectively would be to set up reservations where the Negroes would be wards of the nation, like the Indians. But this is hardly the vision of the Chicago race leaders.

MESMERISM OF THE 49TH STATE

An effort was put forth last week to shock the promoters of the 49th state into a realization of their responsibility to the social body politic of the people of the 48 states, especially that portion which these promoters have assumed to represent. An effort was made to point out some of the disadvantages of their early ripe intentions which must be cleared before their mesmeric viewpoint of a state can be evolved into an actual existence.

It might be interesting to inquire: "Who are asking for this new state? What is their contribution to its establishment? Is the success of the 49th state dependent upon the success of the promoters, or is it a child to be born amid sacrifice, hunger and poverty? Are we to duplicate in its establishment and promotion the wandering Israelites guided by a pillar of cloud by day or a pillar of fire by night, without their hope of proper spiritual direction?

Is our reward for three centuries of building in the 48 states to be found in the desolate swamps of the 49th state? How are we to divorce ourselves from our first love to which we have devoted so much affection in treasure and blood? What is our new affinity? This affectionate political gigolo who is now asking us to surrender all for him? Even the thought of establishing a 49th state as a means of freeing ourselves from certain social, political and economic disadvantages is so senseless as not to deserve serious consideration.

But the scheme of the 49th state takes on added significance when we find certain Race-hating white men who are known advocates of the peonage system of the South and who have always been opposed to our enjoyment of the full and complete rights of other American citizens, giving their aid and comfort to the promoters. When such men show eagerness to promote the 49th state the justification for the whole scheme becomes a question for serious consideration and minute examination.

Every Race-hating senator and congressman has subscribed to this loathsome nightmare known as the 49th state. They see in its operation a new chance of economic enslavement of those black people who might be foolish enough to be lured by this phantom of fiction. This scheme presents no solid ground. It is the embodiment of empty theories and political abstractions. It is the work of restless visionaries and economic dreamers.

The black people of the 48 states have learned to regard themselves as joint stockholders in all the records and achievements accumulated in and by the 48 states since advent. They are not likely to foreclose present holdings in search of the politic of gold at the end of the rainbow.

RALEIGH, N. C.
NEWS OBSERVER

APR 1 1934

THE ONLY SOLUTION

The Literary Digest reports a proposal from the Black Belt of Chicago that, in the government's program of buying marginal lands and moving families in plans of rehabilitation, an all-Negro state be added to make the 49th State in the Nation in order that the Negro race may work out its destiny "unhampered by artificial barriers."

This is not the first time that such a suggestion has been made, nor will it be the last despite the fact that there is not the least possibility that such a course will be followed. Quick solutions are constantly offered for difficult problems. Unfortunately, however, quick solutions seldom solve.

The destiny of the American Negro is to live as neighbor to the white man, and the destiny of white men in America, especially in the South, is to live as neighbor to the Negro. Life for both of them might be simpler if there was no variation in the color scheme of the civilization in which they live. But that variation does exist. Facing the fact, the best way to a solution of the difficulties of both races lies in the realization that they will continue to be neighbors and that the happiness of both depends upon their determination to be good neighbors who realize that in a common civilization the welfare of both is essential to the welfare of either.

Colonization Group Seeks $2,000,00

NEW YORK. — A drive for a $2,000,000 fund was officially opened Sunday by the African Reconstruction Association.

The fund is to be used in transporting 50,000 or more persons to Liberia, where the association intends to establish a colony.

Samuel Daniels, president, in his plea for cooperation, asserted that at least 30 per cent of colored Americans will never return to work here. He pictured Liberia as a land of unlimited opportunity.

CHICAGO, ILL.
NEWS

APR 27 1934

49th State for Negroes Pushed in Movement Here

BY FRANK L. HAYES.

A movement for the establishment of a forty-ninth state for Negroes has been developed in Chicago and has won the support of several Negro business and professional men.

The originators of the movement are Oscar C. Brown and Bindley C. Cyrus, two young lawyers of 417 East 47th street. Brown is a native of the south. Cyrus was on the University of Chicago debating team which debated with Oxford in 1926. His wife is a daughter of Booker T. Washington.

Richard L. Jones, manager of the South Center department store, is treasurer, and J. E. Mitchem, secretary of the Victory Mutual Life Insurance Company, is secretary of state in the national council for a forty-ninth state. Oscar Brown is its governor general.

The movement will be discussed at a meeting in the Savoy ballroom, at 47th street and South Park way, Sunday at 2 p. m.

"The constitution permits the establishment of a new state within the present jurisdiction of an existing state or states," said Mr. Brown, "provided the consent of the states concerned is first obtained. Article IV, section III, paragraph 1, reads: 'No new state shall be formed within the jurisdiction of any other state, nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the congress.'

"We believe that states will be found which will give such consent as an alternative to the present necessity of maintaining many destitute Negroes on relief. Federal aid would be needed, but only for a limited period, that is, until the occupants stand on their own feet.

Territorial Status First.

"We would not expect immediate statehood, but a period of territorial status until the new occupants shall be prepared to take charge. Then we would expect as complete sovereignty as is possible under the constitution of the United States.

"A precedent for the acquisition of land for new occupants is found in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

"The division of subsistence homesteads is planning experiments for helping the rural population, but we believe that a project in a single continuous area will do more for the struggling Negroes than scattered homestead projects would do.

Meets Some Opposition.

"The conditions which make us believe a state for Negroes is needed are summed up by Clark Foreman of Atlanta, assistant to the secretary of the interior, who writes in the current Opportunity: 'Downtrodden and terrorized into peonage by those who claim that "white supremacy" must be insured by such measures, the majority of the rural Negroes are confined to abject servitude and hopeless poverty.'"

The proponents of a new Negro state admit that the plan has met with some opposition and skepticism among Negroes.

"The objection is raised," said Mr. Brown, "that it means segregation. We must recognize that segregation is already a fact. Negroes would not be compelled to go to the state and whites would not be kept out; whites would find no Jim Crow regulations, but such conditions as obtained in other regions where Negroes are in control."